The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

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# Exploitatton.

The capitalist system of production [illegible] from the other [illegible] only in one respect [illegible] based upon the exploitation [illegible] another, although [illegible] exploitation has altered.

[illegible] slavery and feudalism [illegible] exploitation [illegible] capitalism is so [illegible] the workers [illegible] firmly convinced [illegible] their [illegible].

[illegible] something for a [illegible].

[illegible] small [illegible] How [illegible] I exploited [illegible] it possible for me to put a stop to it?

[illegible] answer to the first question: How [illegible].

It becomes necessary for this purpose that we first enquire into the nature of a commodity, and as to what gives it its value in exchange; because a proper understanding of the nature of value presents us with the key to the secret of capitalist exploitation.

### The Commodity.

A commodity is anything produced for sale and in consequence, must be capable of satisfying some human want. It must have a use value. In previous modes of production, less productive than the present, [illegible] producing [illegible] surplus was exchanged. But in this age of high productive capacity and specialisation in industry, known as capitalism, goods are necessarily produced wholly for exchange for the market.

[illegible] interest to us now is upon what basis do they exchange, what is the source from which comes the value which we refer to when we say that [illegible] merchants are equal to [illegible] worth one table or so much gold.

### Source of Exchange Value.

[illegible] a detailed examination [illegible] question see Marx's "Value, Price and Profit." Suffice it for us to say that [illegible] how we will [illegible] labor, mental and physical, is the sole source of exchange value. But when commodities are exchanged [illegible] not the amount of actual labor which [illegible] in any particular commodity [illegible] determines its value, but only the amount of labor which is socially necessary, because the competition on the market rules out all socially unnecessary labor. Hence we say that it is the socially necessary labor time involved in the production of a commodity which determines its value.

We have considered the nature of the value of a commodity because just as the capitalist lives by selling his commodities, so the working man lives by selling his labor power. Labor power, thus takes on the nature of a commodity and is subject to the laws that govern commodities when on the market.

The socially necessary labor time involved in its production is the factor which determines its value, or the socially necessary labor time involved in the production of those things which are necessary to the working man to enable him to live and work and reproduce his kind. The competition on the labor market ensures that wages or the price of labor power shall hover around its cost of production. This law holds good even though the worker's productive capacity increased a thousand fold. His share must still remain just sufficient to reproduce his labor power.

For thousands of years man has been able to produce more than was necessary to keep him alive and perpetuate his kind and to-day his power has increased a hundred fold by the aid of science and machinery.

### Surplus Values Accrue to the Capitalists.

But the iron laws of the commodity market, i.e., the fundamental law of value and the laws of competition, effectually prevent that increased productive capacity from redounding to the benefit of the working class because of the commodity nature of their labor power. Automatically, the capitalist class become the beneficiaries as monopolising owners of society's means of wealth production.

—Ambrose Tree.—Exchange.

# The Arch-Frame-up.

[illegible] the whole activity of capitalist press, diplomacy, and politics, "foreign" or "internal" has become nowadays one gigantic frame-up, the cases against individuals are only side-shows in comparison. The gravest and most colossal of all these calculated lies, and the foundation of them all is the campaign against Socialism or Bolshevism, [illegible] latter word is now preferred, it sounds more hairy, wild, woolly and unkempt, now being undertaken in concert by the Governments and press of the world, Central and Allied. Lenin foreshadowed that the capitalist war would not end in a capitalist peace merely, but [illegible] a war between capitalism and the Socialist revolution, and [illegible] before our eyes. And [illegible] relying on its power of sway[illegible] through the press, in whatever direction it pleases, is not [illegible] ashamed to avow it.

But, while ready to bravado through [illegible] its military operations, it has been at pains to conceal not only by silence but by a deluge of press lies, its more characteristic methods of the third degree, in which our Right Honourable Premiers, Home and Colonial, are obviously involved. We pass over the latest from President Wilson, who comes out with an "American novelty" in the shape of that old yarn, "photographically" supported this time, about documents proving Lenin and Trotsky hired agents of Germany. We have twice knocked that silly story sillier still, and as for the photographs, we remember the Mooney case. Anyway, the Germans must now be realising that to "tamper with" Socialism is to use a boomerang.

[illegible] ago we [illegible] of a frightful [illegible] by the "Lenin Government" [illegible] British and French subjects, including the very diplomats, were [illegible] like beasts, and Petrograd flowed with "billows of blood," all under "Bolshevism which has ruined Russia", when at the same time, as the "Star" reported this week under date Sept. 18, "the Red Army was hopelessly disorganised"; when a true Red couldn't sleep unless he dined off at least one counter-revolutionary [illegible] with another in prospect for the morrow; when silencers had to be used to deaden the incessant thud of the guillotine, and "Commissioners from Moscow, organised the worst elements for looting, killing officers, and other outrages."

Not a single chapter and verse has ever been given to back up these travellers' tales. But the Glasgow "Socialist" has given us the facts, which reached Litvinoff in London by wireless message from Moscow, immediately before the British Government, so tender for its own diplomats, clapped him into Brixton Gaol, probably for thus exposing it, but too late to stop his news. The message read:

"On Sept. 2nd a plot organised under the supervision of the **CHIEF OF THE BRITISH MISSION, LOCKHART, the FRENCH CONSUL-GENERAL, GRENARD, and the French General Laterne,** was liquidated.

**"The plot had for its aim to seize the power of the Soviet of the People's Commissaries by BRIBING the chiefs of the Army Corps of the Soviets Army and to proclaim a MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN MOSCOW.**

**"In the possession of the plotters were found FORGED secret communications of the Russian Government with Germany and a FORGED TREATY WITH GERMANY. All with the object of creating after the coup d'etat which would allow the Dictatorship to declare war on Germany.**

**"The whole of the organisation, which was a well-thought out and thoroughly organised scheme, and which acted by means of bribery, was arrested.**

**"The plotters were PROTECTING THEMSELVES WITH DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY. A number of certificates which were issued under the personal signature of Lockhart are in the hands of the Extraordinary Investigation Committee.**

**"At the residence of the plotters, an Englishman was arrested, who having been brought before the Extraordinary Investigation Committee, gave his name as Lockhadt, but was released after his correct identity had been established.**

**"It was discovered that through the hands of only one of Lockhart's agents, a lieutenant of the British Service named Reilly, no less a sum than £1,200,000 roubles passed in the course of ten days.**

**"The plot was discovered thanks to the firmness and fidelity of the Chiefs of Army Corps of the Soviets' Army whom the plotters were trying to bribe."**

(Contrast the fuss over Litvinoff having spent £10,000 during his whole stay in England.)

Now we can see the setting of the attempted murder of Lenin, and make sense of the story that "the Bolsheviks are engaged in hunting British and French subjects." The actual number arrested was 11 British and 11 French, says the "Daily News," adding, "There is reason to believe that British and French are in hiding, and there is no cause for immediate alarm as to their safety." Lockhart "escaped execution as the result of intervention by all the neutral Ministers."

**Again**: "Indiscriminate shooting is going on in the streets of Petrograd." The very same paper (early in September) reports that counter-revolutionaries had entered the city. No wonder there was some street fighting. (That was the same day when Petrograd was "on fire in 12 places.") There is civil war, of course wherever the capitalist rebels or their Allied friends attack the Bolshevik Government or troops. For instance "The anti-Bolsheviks" near Moscow are keeping up communications with General Alexieff and his troops. There were attempted riots in Moscow for the purpose of preventing the dispatch of Bolshevik troops against the Czechs, but they were suppressed and the ringleaders shot. Similar attempts occurred at Vologda, Vladimir, Viatka and Orel, but were foiled." These whines at "armed protest" being met in military fashion are not confined to the British press. Note that these counter revolutionaries never consist of Russian workers or peasants.

Here is another case of a kind we are getting accustomed to. "With regard to Finland," writes Ransome, "a large number of Red Guards appear to have joined the Entente force on the Murman, believing that the Entente force would fight the 'White' Finns and the Germans. Finding on the contrary that the Entente force was fighting the Bolsheviks, the leaders of the Reds, with many followers, withdrew, and the Finnish Social Democrats at Petrograd issued a declaration that no Finns should help the Allies, who opposed the Russian Socialist Government."

To use the expressive word, it is for Socialists all over the world to "liquidate" the greatest frame-up of all by organisation for the Social Revolution. Indeed the German Minority Socialist Ledebour recently said: "Information at hand seems to indicate that our (i.e., German) militarists aim at overthrowing the Maximalist Government in Moscow. It would be the holy duty of the German proletarians to use every forcible means at their disposal to prevent such a crime. It should not be allowed to occur that German proletarians produce munitions at home or lend a hand otherwise to overthrow the Socialist Government of Russia and to pave the way for a reactionary one. **Should things come to such a pass it is our bounden duty to start a revolution and to overthrow the existing (German) Government."**

—Exchange.

# Notice!

**TO BRANCHES, AGENTS AND SUBSCRIBERS.**

**Owing to the restrictions placed upon all public meetings and outdoor activities, which neccssarily means that we are not able to place the paper into the hands of the outsider (the one we desire to reach) we have decided not to publish an issue for February 15th.**

**The opportunity will be taken to bring out new editions of several pamphlets.**

**The A.S.P. has distributed more working class literature than any other organisation in Australia during the past 12 months, and we would advise Literature Secretary to concentrate on literature during the off week of the paper.**

**NOTICE!**

**Owing to the prohibition of indoor and outdoor meetings, the Sunday night lectures, Economic Class, Industrial History Class, and all other meetings will be dropped for the time being.**

**The above notice applies to Sydney only so far.**

THE

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# Why are you There Girls?

By MARCIA.

At the present time a rather interesting, or at least an extremely interesting subject, is being discussed in the columns of the "Evening News."

It is entitled "Why are you there, girls?" and has arisen out of a question asked through the press to girls who have taken the places of men in banks, offices and counting houses.

The questioner was anxious to know why these girls did not give up their jobs to the returning soldiers.

Needless to say, such a proposition has provoked a storm of discussion, and among all the hundreds of letters which have been written, all giving different opinions, very few, if any, have come near the real question at issue.

Some girls are complaining that as so many Australian soldiers have married English girls, there is no hope for them to get husbands and they must work for their own living. Others that as some girls refuse to give up their jobs, there would be no sense in a few doing so.

Some of the male correspondents contend that as English girls are more domesticated they make the best wives, others that the Australian girls are not playing the game, as only 2 per cent. of soldiers have married English girls.

These ideas of course bringing down storms of indignation in reply, and the English women accused of being dirty, ugly, and ungraceful, etc., also reiteration of Australian girls' domestic capabilities.

In fact, without dwelling any longer on the details of the various epistles, it is sufficient to say that to any intelligent reader, the whole discussion is a miserable proof of the danger which now more than ever is prone to the working girls, the danger of fighting amongst themselves, and creating a SEX war, rather than realising the existence of a CLASS war.

This controversy [illegible] is important, in so far that valuable lessons may be drawn from it.

The men who are railing at women for refusing to give up their jobs, are quite ignorant of the fact that the latter cannot do so, economic conditions force them there, and will **keep** them there.

This state of affairs was bound to come, it was inevitable, although no doubt it has been greatly accelerated by the war and its conditions.

In the old handicraft days, a man was able to earn sufficient to keep his wife and daughters in the home, to do housework and domestic duties.

Gradually, however, this system changed, more up to date methods of producton were used, machinery came into use, the working man could not earn enough to keep his family, and it became necessary for the girls and women to contribute to the support of the household.

Now on the labor market, as on all others the capitalist buyer is looking for the cheapest commodities, and the efficiency being there, the next thing is to look for the cheapest quality of it, consequently female labor power being sold at a lower price than that of the male it commands more buyers.

Machinery has to be worked, it requires practise only, and can be mastered in a short time, so in tending and minding a machine sex doesn't matter, and the woman gets the **job**.

We find that Marx mentions and deals with this fact in Capital: "Whenever a process requires peculiar dexterity and steadiness of hand it is withdrawn as soon as possible for the cunning workman, who is prone to irregularities of many kinds, and it is placed in charge of a peculiar mechanism so self regulating that a child can superintend it. The effect of improvements in machinery not merely in superseding the necessity for the employment of the same quantity of adult labor as before in order to produce a given result, but in substituting one description of human labor for another, the less skilled for the more skilled juvenile for adult, female or male, causes a fresh disturbance in the rate of wages."

And again: "Along with the tool the skill of the workman in handling it passes over to the machine, in the place of the artificially produced differentiations of the detail workman, step the natural differences of age and sex."

These conditions were rapidly becoming general before the war; but the latter accomplished in a few months what might have taken years in the ordinary course of events.

This is proved by the fact that to-day we find men upbraiding women for refusing to give up jobs in banks, counting houses and offices.

These same jobs were formerly filled by men who took years to learn bookkeeping, accountancy, etc., and who were possessed of no mean skill when they obtained these positions.

Yet in four years' time girls have taken and occupied their places owing to adding machines, typewriters, and machines which do the bookkeeping and accounts, and as their labor is of course much cheaper, they are there to stay as far as the employer is concerned.

And as was stated previously, they will HAVE to remain there, because economic conditions force them to do so.

Widows left with young children are obliged to work in order to live, mothers with large families are depending on daughters' earnings, and waiting for their younger ones to leave school, in order to send them to work.

In fact, if girls were to give up their work in offices, etc., there would be nothing left for them but starvation or the streets, to which also too many have been driven already.

Now then, we have the position which we must look straight in the face.

The war is scarcely over, and we see the returned soldiers crying out that women have taken their jobs, what will happen when ALL those left alive are back here?

In their ignorance they will fight the women for their position, and the capitalist will look complacently on and laugh as he counts his profits.

He will be on the side of the woman all the time, he can employ two of them for the wage he would have to pay one man.

We can see in the immediate future a vast army of unemployed, and as I said before a sex struggle.

**Now**, above all, is the time to guard against and realise this danger.

When will the women of [illegible] understand their true position.

When will the men do the same.

The former are forced into the labor market to save them from starvation or prostitution, the latter are also driven there in order to live, neither are to blame for fighting for existence.

The fact to be deplored is that instead of fighting each other, they do not pit their whole force against the system which is responsible for such conditions.

We would urge the women of our class to beware of forming themselves into bodies to obtain concessions and palliatives for their sex, and which look upon man as their natural enemy.

We would urge upon them the necessity of acting and working in conjunction with man in that class struggle which is ever being waged.

IT IS ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE FOR WOMAN TO GAIN HER EMANCIPATION, WITHOUT ACHIEVING HIS AT THE SAME TIME.

Now, if ever, is the time for woman to show her mettle, during the last four years she has shown it on the side of the capitalist class; will she not now prove her inestimable value to her own, the working class.

Look around, my working sisters, look at the misery, disease, hunger, prostitution and vice stalking naked through the world all of which have been intensified during the last four years; ask yourselves whether you will not in future now that you realise your power use all your efforts to make these wretched conditions cease? We ask, pray, we demand, as you are members of the working class that you range yourselves in its ranks and fight for its freedom.

We know and acknowledge absolute equality of the sexes, we want one great and mighty army organised industrially and politically; we have but one slogan and that "NO COMPROMISE," we seek but one goal, **the complete downfall of capitalism.**

Man and women of the working class; your place is in that revolutionary army; **how long will you leave that place unfilled?**

Swing inward O' gates of the future,
Swing outward ye doors of the past;
For the soul of the people is moving
And rising from slumber at last.
The black forms of night are retreating,
The white peaks have signalled the day,
And freedom her long roll is beating,
And calling her sons to the fray.

# Slams and Jabs.

By JAYBES.

## DEMOBILISATION

Here is what the London cable says: "It is recognized that at least 1,000,000 British troops must be retained under arms until the terms of peace are signed and made safe."

If the British capitalists [illegible] to wait until the peace terms are made safe the army of 1,000,000 will be retained ad infinitum.

Industrial upheavals are rife all over the world, and if the profits of the master class are to be "made safe" (for as we all know that is what it means) it is necessary to use the military to cow the workers back to their servitude. The army and navy is to the master class what beaks are to eagles, and tusks are to tigers, and the more beaks and tusks they have the more able will they be to tear pieces out of the working class.

Every move of the ruling class brings it nearer to its death. We look to the British workers to perform great deeds within the next few months and we will not look in vain, and when they rise with the firm purpose of abolishing forever that foul dream of capitalism, the "terms of peace will be signed and made safe." — BUT NOT BEFORE.

### Miners' Fight For Democracy! Then They Do a Bit of Fighting For Themselves.

The war is won! God save the King! Rule Britannia! Three hearty cheers for the Hempire!!! And then we wake up. The men of old England who delve in the bowels of the earth, reaping profits for the the parasitic coal barons who live in luxury, are waking up. They are at last beginning to see that the "Hempire" song has two tunes [illegible] for the class who own [illegible] for the class who [illegible] 30 per cent. increase [illegible] we are sorry they are not out for the lot.

The plea put up by the press of the [illegible] is that it would involve [illegible] additional £30,000,000 yearly, and that they would have to increase the price of coal [illegible] per ton. [illegible] the bosses could [illegible] commodity (coal) [illegible] the £10,000,- [illegible] worry about [illegible] the miners? [illegible]

[illegible] the workers against [illegible] We are only [illegible] the fact that the miners are asking for so little.

### Bolshevik Army is Deserting Trotsky (?) Then the Alarm Went Off.

[illegible] telegraphs: "M. Trotsky, the Bolshevik dictator, [illegible] Petrograd with [illegible] of the Bolsheviks. His whole army then deserted him."

"[illegible] South West of Petrograd [illegible] The Bolsheviks [illegible] after fighting all day."

"A majority of the members of the Lithuanian Cabinet [illegible] owing to recent Bolshevist advance. They have arrived at the Danish island of Bornholm, in the Baltic."

"Reports from the Crimea state that Bolshevism is spreading in the Ukraine, and only prompt intervention will prevent the whole of the Black Sea littoral falling into Bolshevik hands."

"The Paris 'Matin' states M. Noulens fears that the westward advance of the Bolshevist army will cause widespread risings in Poland, Germany, and Hungary, where the conditions are ripe for Bolshevism."

London, Friday.

"The Bolsheviks have captured Orenburg, on the River Ural, 727 miles E.S.E. of Petrograd. This will increase the difficulties of the Russian Siberian army and threaten the British force in Transcaspia. The main Bolshevik force will now be able to advance along the railway S.E. from Orenburg."

"The German [illegible] officially announces that the advancing Bolsheviks have captured Popejany, Savli, Mitau, Takkum and [illegible] in the Riga district."

You will observe that the army that deserted Trotsky in the first cable is swarming all over Russia and driving back the forces of reaction. The very fact that the Allies sitting in Paris have agreed to officially recognise the Bolshevik at the Princes Island Russian Conference, proves without any question or doubt that the Bolshevik forces are becoming stronger daily. It is not the Bolshevik arms they fear, it is the Bolshevik propaganda; and that propaganda is not foreign to Russia; there are millions of men in all the European countries who accept the revolutionary tenets of Socialism, and that is all Bolshevism really is. The best way to assist the Bolsheviks of Russia is to link up your forces with the Australian Socialist Party, who are the only true representatives of Revolution in Australia.

### The Revolution in Portugal. Why?

The revolution that is at present taking place in Portugal is not the kind of revolution they are attempting to make us believe. In Portugal, as in other countries all over the world, the working class are organising for the overthrow of Capitalism. The capitalist republicans and the capitalist monarchists have united

...ainst the working class, and it neces[sa]ray to strengthen their position they [w]ill recall that deposed parasite Manuel. [It] is not because the Republican capital[is]ts particularly desire Manuel back, but [be]cause they are forced to unite with the [mon]archists so as to stem the tide of [wor]king class agitation. The counter-[re]volution in Portugal should prove to [tho]se who believe that the kicking out of [ki]ngs is worth fighting for, that kings [ar]e but a part of the system and unless [th]e system itself is abolished there is al[w]ays a likelihood of kings coming back; [p]rovided the ruling class position can be [t]hereby strengthened. King capital is [th]e king to go after. The others hang to [h]im like barnacles.

## [L]eibnecht and Luxembourg—Are They Dead?

Are we yet to believe that tw[o] of the [g]reatest products of German Revolution [h]ave passed into the valley of the shad[ow]? As we write the cables are persist[en]t in affirming the death of Karl Leib[kn]echt and Rosa Luxembourg. [illegible] dies have passed away in the [illegible] [st]ruggle their philosophy remains. [illegible] dead they were murdered. As[sa]ssinated not by the [illegible] of the Kaiser, but by the [illegible] [soci]al socialists. We pointed out [illegible] [the]se columns those [illegible] [illegible] the Allied [illegible] Majority Socialists [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] when the war broke [illegible] [illegible] they have [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] their class. [illegible] [w]orking class [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] bitterness [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] dead they died [illegible] [know]ledge that they only missed the [illegible] [illegible] revolution by days.

Movements such as ours do not die [wit]h the death of spokesmen but in the [im]pending crisis we could ill afford to [los]e this brilliant and uncompromising [ma]n this faithful and revolutionary wo[ma]n. And as we write this we feel that [th]ey still live if not in the flesh then in [th]e spirit of the revolution to be.

## [R]eform Socialists and Revolutionary Bolsheviks.

It is expected that the German "Major[ity] Socialists" [illegible] are preparing an army [to] fight the Bolsheviks. We do not doubt [it] for one moment. Reform always did [illegible] revolution. When you see a politi[cal] party, no matter whether they call [the]mselves "Socialists," "Democrats," "Republicans," acceptable to the [illegible] [illegible] you can bet your last [illegible] that they have betrayed the interests [of] the working class.

[illegible] Bolsheviks. Most of [illegible] of the working class [illegible] know that the principles [of] Bolshevism cannot be killed. [illegible] men but you cannot kill ideas, and [the] philosophy of Bolshevism is based on [illegible] fact, and bullets and bayonets [can]not [illegible] a scientific fact. The suc[cess of] Bolshevism is as certain as the [illegible] of tomorrow.

[illegible] the hour! The [illegible] that brings [TH]E DAY.

## The Rumblings Bring Warnings.

[Fr]om all over the world warnings are [co]ming in. Warnings [illegible] [illegible] Warnings to the master class to [bewa]re of their impending downfall. The [Belg]ian Socialist from Belgium, Vander[velde], strikes this note: "Belgium needs [illegible] help. She has 300,000 unemployed, [mos]tly in the textile and glass industries. [If we] do not get prompt assistance we [may] experience a wave of Bolshevism [illegible] for America's assistance [illegible] [illegible] Belgium's position would have [beco]me unbearable."

Then appears the warning of the [Da]ily News" against intervention in [Rus]sia: "The French doctrine that it is [the d]uty of United Europe to stamp out [Bol]shevism is precisely the argument [used] by the opponents to the French re[volu]tion. If force is used in Russia, it [mean]s the ruin of the hopes for a [Lea]gue of Nations."

Now, hearken to President Wilson:—[B]olshevism is steadily advancing west-ward. IT CANNOT BE STOPPED BY FORCE, but by food."

Next comes G. Lansbury, styled by the Bosses' press as a "Labor leader," and as true "Labor Leaders" are noted for, he warns the class he serves, the capitalist class: "I fear there will be outbreaks of Bolshevism in Great Britain and France unless the ruling class keep their pledge that the world shall become a better place for the workers."

Will Mr. Doubting Thomas in the Socialist movement, and out of it cut a few items of this description out and pin 'em in his hat. They might be the means of bringing him to his senses when his blood starts to run cold.

## Democracy Fought for and Democracy Gained—For Whom?

Even those with short memories will remember that the war was fought in the interests of "DEMOCRACY." If you dare to deny this you ought to be interned, for is not the thing self evident? Still there are some who believe that "democracy" included the workers, to those we suggest an eye bath. After democracy has been made quite "SAFE" we find in an official report that there are 10,000,000 people out of a job in the land of Uncle Sam. The French workers are striking all over the country. Paris is without trains. The London "bobbies" are contemplating a strike unless an increase of pay and a shortage of hours are forthcoming. 150,000 have quit work in Belfast. 40,000 on the Clyde are making Mr. Boss sit up. Everywhere we look we can see evidences of the brand of "Democracy" doled out by the capitalist class in whose interests the war was waged.

In a previous par we gave the British Coalition Government of Britain six months to get out; we repent, we have given them too long.

# Why India wants Self-Government.

By H. CHRISTOPHERSON.

(Continued from Last Issue.)

## Home Rule Indian Forces Hand of Government.

Mrs. Besant started a Home Rule League, and in the newspaper "New India" she became the fiery advocate of Indian Home Rule. Later on Mrs. Besant and two of her associates were arrested, but when the agitation for her release took on a dangerous aspect, the Government again released her on her entering into certain guarantees. At the Congress of Calcutta, 1917, Mrs. Besant was triumphantly elected to the presidentship. Imprisoned Mohamed Ali was elected to the presidentship of the next meeting of the Moslem League.

This shows the feeling which existed just prior to the Government calling for the Montagu-Chelmsford report. The Secretary of State on August 20, 1917 in calling for this report, stated that "the policy of H. Majesty's Government with which the Government of India is in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

Various proposals were submitted with the report, but so far no action whatever has been taken to give effect to the grandiloquent promises.

But already intrigue has started to prevent anything from coming of the proposed concessions. British officials in India are secretly opposed to any form of self-government by Indians or to them obtaining any leading positions in the service of their own country. British mercantile classes are also using all sorts of devices to thwart the scheme. The "Indo-British Association," that is a society of merchants who have made their fortunes out of the sweat of the poor Indian workers, has issued a pamphlet, entitled, "The Indian opposition to Home Rule. What the British public ought to know." In this pamphlet these hypocrites ask us to believe that "millions of the uneducated and depressed classes of India are ready to bear testimony to their deep conviction of the necessity of British supremacy." And there are appeals from "poor villagers who know nothing of self-government," but who apparently write orthodox and idiomatic English and discuss questions of railways and shipping as if they were experts and know about the interests of the merchants, who in frantic outbursts beg of the British Government, not to grant anything in the nature of self-government to India!

Yet, a previous British official in India, Sir Andrew Fraser, formerly Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, writing in the "Nineteenth Century" for October, 1918, states: "I have no hesitation in saying that, wherever local self government (in India) has been worked sympathetically and earnestly by government officers, it has been a great success. To say that 'local government has not been an encouraging experiment,' is correct. I have served for many years in one province, been head of two provinces, and have travelled in two commissions."

## India Gradually Becomes Capitalistic.

To understand the political movement outlined in this article, one has to realise the industrial and educational developments of India.

British India has an area of 1,767,000 square miles, and its population in 19[illegible] was estimated at 315,156,000. In 1913 its public revenue was about £85,207,000, and its public debt amounted to £267,331,000. It imported merchandise to the value of £81,769,000, and exported merchandise to the value of £125,205,000.

When the white man began to bombard Hindustan with his wares, manufactured by power-drawn machinery, there was no alternative for the native but to modernise his industries in order to compete with the West on its own terms, or ignominiously perish. Stories are actually extant of whole villages dying out when the Indians' handicrafts were first rendered useless by the cheaper machine-made article. But gradually Indian methods of production changed on the lines of Western capitalism, and to-day India actually possesses a capitalistic class in the embryonic state. This is mostly a manufacturing class, and a great deal of Indian manufacture is devoted to cotton goods. There are also factories for spinning jute, and husking rice, and there is a considerable number of sawmills. Woollen mills, soap factories, tanneries, iron and brass foundries, sugar factories, flour mills, ice factories, pottery and tile factories, tobacco and cigar factories, dye works, and indigo factories are also found. It is estimated that in 1913 there were 750,000 persons employed in these factories.

Naturally, Indian capitalists, like their white prototypes, resolutely shut their eyes to the necessity for the safeguarding of the lives and health of their employees. The transition has in some respects been more sordid and crushing even than it has been in Europe and America, because it has been so much quicker, and the Indian workers have had little chance of organising themselves. The merciless wheels of the Juggernaut car of commercialism have been crushing the operatives.

Mill-workers usually work about 12 hours a day. Males receive 15/ to 18/ a month, and females about one-third less. In Bombay and other large industrial centres mill-workers live in big, bare-looking, ugly tenements, several storeys high, and containing scores of rooms, a single cubicle frequently sheltering a whole family. The sanitary arrangements in these places are wretched. Usually the mill-workers eat one or two meals a day of wretched food. In places they live in insanitary mud-huts.

As already stated, these conditions have compelled the educated Indians to step in and agitate for the education and improvement of the common people, if for nothing else, for their own protection. The politicians have often failed to assist this movement at all, and after the Surat Congress in 1907, when the progressives had temporarily suffered a set-back, methods of direct action by the oppressed classes were resorted to.

Those suspected of fomenting this trouble were hunted down by the police, prosecuted, and on conviction severely punished. About a dozen Hindus, suspected of being at the head of the movement, were deprived of their liberty without being formally charged or tried. The press was coerced, and other arbitrary methods were extensively adopted.

(To be Continued.)

## FROM THE "BOLSHEVIKI AND WORLD PEACE."

By LEON TROTSKY.

We revolutionary Marxists have no cause for despair. The epoch into which we are now entering will be our epoch. Marxism is not defeated. On the contrary, the roar of cannon in every quarter of Europe heralds the theoretical victory of Marxism. What is left now of the hopes for "peaceful" development, for a mitigation of capitalist class contrasts, for a regular systematic growth into Socialism?

The Reformists on principle, who hoped to solve the social question by the way of tariff treaties, consumers' leagues, and the parliamentary co-operation of the Social Democracy with the bourgeois parties, are now all resting their hopes on the victory of the "national" arms. They are expecting the possessing classes to show greater willingness to meet the needs of the proletariat because it has proved its patriotism.

This expectation would be positively foolish if there were not hidden behind it another, far less "idealistic" hope—that a military victory would create for the bourgeoisie a broader imperialistic field for enriching itself at the expense of the bourgeoisie of other countries, and would enable it to share some of the booty with its own proletariat at the expense of other countries. **Socialist Reformism has actually turned into Socialist imperialism.**

We have witnessed with our own eyes the pathetic bankruptcy of the hopes of a peaceful growth of proletarian well-being. The Reformists, contrary to their own doctrine, were forced to resort to violence in order to find their way out of the political cul-de-sac—and not the violence of the peoples against the ruling classes, but the military violence of the ruling classes against other nations.

Since 1848 the German bourgeoisie has renounced revolutionary methods for solving its problems. They left it to the feudal class to solve their own bourgeois questions by the method of war. Social development confronted the proletariat with the problem of revolution. Evading revolution, the Reformists were forced to go through the same process of historical decline as the liberal bourgeoisie. The Reformists also left it to their ruling classes, that is the same feudal caste, to solve the proletarian problem by the method of war. But this ends the analogy.

The creation of national states [di]d really solve the bourgeois problem for a long period, and the long series of colonial wars coming after 1871 finished off the period by broadening the arena of the development of the capitalistic forces.

The period of colonial wars carried on by the national states led to the present war of the national states—for colonies. After all the backward portions of the earth had been divided among the capitalist states, there was nothing left for these states except to grab the colonies from each other.

"People ought not to talk," says George Irmer, "as though it were self-evident that the German Empire has

Continued on page 4.

**TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS.**

**Whosoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.**

**If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.**

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Continued from Page 3.

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come too late for rivalry for world economy and world markets, that the world has already been divided. Has not the earth been divided over and over again in all epochs of history."

But a redivision of colonies among the capitalist countries does not enlarge the foundations of capitalist development. One country's gain means another country's loss. Accordingly a temporary mitigation of class conflicts in Germany could only be achieved by an extreme intensification of the class struggle in France and in England, and vice versa. An additional factor of decisive importance is the capitalist awakening in the colonies themselves, to which the present war must give a mighty impetus. Whatever the outcome of this war, the imperialistic basis for European capitalism will not be broadened, but narrowed. The war, therefore, does not solve the labor question on an imperialistic basis, but, on the contrary, it intensifies it, putting this alternative to the capitalist world: **Permanent war or Revolution.**

If the war got beyond the control of the second international, its immediate consequences will get beyond the control of the bourgeoisie of the entire world. We revolutionary Socialists did not want the war. **But we do not fear it.** We do not give in to despair over the fact that the war broke up the International. History had already disposed of the International.

The revolutionary epoch will create new forms of organisation out of the inexhaustible resources of proletarian Socialism, new forms that will be equal to the greatness of the new tasks. To this work we will apply ourselves at once, amid the mad roaring of the machine guns, the crashing of cathedrals and the patriotic howling of the capitalist jackals. We will keep our minds clear amid this hellish death music, our vision undimmed. We feel ourselves to be the only creative force of the future. Already there are many of us, more than it may seem. To-morrow there will be more of us than to-day. And the day after to-morrow, millions will rise up under our banner, millions who even now, sixty-seven years after the Communist Manifesto, have nothing to lose but their chains."

## AN INSULT FROM PROFITEERS.

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By WOODICUS.

The Broken Hill mining companies have decided to instal an X Ray apparatus in a building costing £1500 as a donation to the local hospital. A munificent gift at first thought, on second thought, an insult.

The Broken Hill mining field is operated by about a dozen big companies. One of these, considered a second rate concern, has just announced a profit for this last six months of £203,783.

One company has paid fifteen millions in dividends, that is, returned to the shareholders their capital invested in the company one hundred and fifty times over. Put in a sovereign and receive one hundred and forty-nine sovereigns, besides the one originally put in, or one thousand five hundred per cent. Truly, a safe investment, fair profit and reasonable interest, says the capitalist.

In their mad scramble for dividends these companies have killed 390 men and injured many thousands. Equipped with the most modern plants of the kind in the world, put out the man, put in the machine, has been their motto.

Walk into the hospital any day you will, and see the mangled cast offs of these profit mills. Men whose lungs turn to stone with miners' pthisis, with limbs amputated, ribs and skulls crushed, blinded and paralysed. Are these the shareholders in the mining companies? No, they are the victims—the slaves. The shareholders eschew the city of Broken Hill. Switzerland, the Tyrol Riveria of Europe. Florida and Palm Beach of America; the pleasant spots of the world are where these shareholders sojourn; not in the galvanised iron shacks at Broken Hill set down in a treeless desert, shacks that are an inferno in summer and an ice chest in winter.

The shareholders never use the hospital in Broken Hill. They would scorn to visit this slave repair shop. The best of the world's medical and surgical specialists attend to the shareholders.

What a paltry sum is fifteen hundred pounds out of thirty millions handed to the idlers by the Broken Hill workers.

The mining companies say, in effect: We thank you for the gigantic pudding you have given us. We appreciate your sacrifices. As you have been docile and allowed us to use your bodies in whatever manner we choose, for such consideration, here is a currant out of the pudding. Don't be a glutton and eat it all at once. Really you workers have such beastly habits.

## DEMOS AWAKENING.

Amazed at the energy and hardihood displayed by the Russian proletariat in their determined fight to make good and secure their control over the economic and political forces of Russia, the bourgeoisie are sparing no effort in desperate attempt to stem the tide of world wide revolutionary feeling.

In particular their news sheets and periodicals, by open and conscienceless vilification and subtle insinuation seek to discredit the Russian movement and its prominent personalities. That in pursuance of their foul purpose no blackguardly insinuation is too vile and that no opportunity is lost for a sneering misrepresentation, testifies fully to their fear that revolutionary feeling in other countries, taking courage from example, may translate itself into action with direful consequences to bourgeois dominion in the world.

Cost what it may, the working class must be turned from the path which leads to emancipation.

And so, behold our bourgeois writers and publicists hobnobbing patronisingly with "labor leaders" and renegade "socialists," and the press giving full publicity and fulsome praise to so-called "National" and "Labor" parties and their insipid, harmless, pseudo socialist policies.

Demos is awakening from his age-long sleep.

And they sing a song of a "New Social Order" where everyone will be a petty bourgeois: a lullaby to hush him to sleep again.

Will they do it?

Socialists! Let us sound the loud alarm.

The social order of the bourgeoisie was established on the downfall of feudalism. It is here now: too well we know it.

It is here now: Plutocracy, with its kept and hireling press and gulled people: with its hand-picked governments and their police and hang-dog spy systems reaching out into and laying polluting hands on, the very privacy, the inner sanctums, of the peoples' lives.

Plutocracy! Thine other name is Dollar Patriotism; thy methods are cajollary and lies, lies, lies and brute force. But oh, the inevitable arrives always. Broken promises being disillusionment and shattered faith and hate and retribution, as fowls come home to roost.

Soon, soon, thee and thy hireling crew shall be called to account. Booted and spurred and riding rough-shod though ye be, a little while and the pent up storm shall burst; a little while, and your pride shall be humbled.

One hundred years ago was born a man who sent forth the clarion call "Workers of the World Unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain." In every land, in every clime, with ever swelling volume the myriad voices of the oppressed reply, 'tis true! 'tis true! we HAVE nothing to lose but our chains! Come, comrades, there is a world to gain.

—C.S.—Exchange.


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## ... The ... Australian Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

**Objective.**

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

**Statement of Principles.**

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests begets a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, some section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

**Political Action and the State.**

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, judicial and coercive forces, which is directed by parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class defeats the workers on the industrial field. Finding themselves in conflict with the State, the workers are forced to find political expression for their economic organisations.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

**As to Unionism.**

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the employing class, because it is a relic of a lower stage in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised abor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production.

The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit on the industrial field.

The A.S.P. therefore endorses the 1916 preamble of the W.I.I.U.

**As to Economic Interpretation of History.**

The A.S.P. pledges itself to the materialistic interpretation of history, which asserts that the transition from one system of society to another, as in the past, from primitive communism to chattel slavery, from chattel slavery to feudalism, and from feudalism to the present Capitalist State, has been the result of new and improved methods of production.

All the institutions of any period of society are moulded by the prevailing economic conditions. The religious, juridical, educational and social institutions, therefore reflect the interests of the dominant class. Thus these institutions and their ideology bolster up the capitalist system.

**As to Militarism.**

The A.S.P. declares itself uncompromisingly hostile to all forms of armaments and militarism, recognising that the armed forces will be used to buttress up capitalism, and to hold down the workers. The A.S.P. further recognises that the energies of the working class can be better utilised in building up their industrial and political organisations, which shall finally render war impossible, as such organisations by international affiliation and alliances between the working classes of all nations will be the chief guarantee of the peace of the world.


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